

News-SOCIAL Letter ACTION

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POSITIVE PEACE PROGRAM PROPOSED

James A. Crain

A positive program for peace, approved by the executive committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America meeting in special session on April 26, was presented to President Truman on April 30. The judgment was expressed by the executive committee of the Council that the mood of the American people, and hence the margin of safety from war, can be significantly increased if the churches can act promptly and in concerted fashion along the lines indicated.

The statement presented to the President declares that "powerful forces have pushed mankind to the brink of an awful abyss" and that "the first and most urgent task is to check those forces." In order to accomplish that purpose the Council puts forward the following proposals which are expanded and dealt with in detail in the full statement, which is being made available for general distribution through the churches:

1. Our people should not tolerate any complacency about war. War would engulf us all in misery and would bring other consequences quite the opposite of our intentions.

2. Our people should combat a mood of hysteria or blind hatred.

3. Our people should reject fatalism about war. War is not inevitable. If it should come, it would be because of conditions which men could have changed.

4. Our people should not rely primarily upon military strategy to meet Communist aggression. Such reliance is more apt to bring war than prevent it. There should be a greater concentration on positive programs of an economic, social, political, and moral character.

5. Our people should press for positive programs which have immediate possibilities for peace and justice. They could, for example, quickly move toward: (a) greater economic well-being throughout the world; (b) greater emphasis on increasing social welfare; (c) greater observance of human rights, to check terrorism, and (d) greater use of processes of international conversation and negotiation.

6. Our people ought, each one of them, to contribute to a change of mood so as to increase the chance of averting war without compromise of basic convictions.

7. Our churches ought to testify with renewed vigor to God's righteous love for all men and the reality of Christian world fellowship.

The extended statement "utterly condemns" any suggestion of a "preventive war," declaring that "whatever the military result, there would be an intensification of the misery which makes men willing to exchange freedom for dictatorship." "Some officials may think that even necessary legislation can be obtained only by frightening the American people," says the statement, while "others may feel that they are peculiarly qualified to exercise political leadership and that they can best ride into power on a wave of emotion."

Of utmost importance is the declaration, "We do not believe that any government, whether or own or the Soviet, now wants war or is committed to war." The religious leaders do believe that "Soviet leaders" have a global program which, "if carried out in the intolerant and coercive

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MUNDT-NIXON BILL THREATENS

FREEDOM

Walter W. Sikes

"Within the past year, the nation has been deluged on all sides with legislative proposals and actions, executive orders, vigilantism, and even judicial decisions which again, as in similar historical periods in the past, threaten the keystone of our democracy—the Bill of Rights. The Mundt-Nixon Bill is the deadliest fruit of a period of mounting hysteria and repression."

This is the opinion of the National Lawyers Guild concerning the only piece of legislation proposed by the House Un-American Activities Committee after more than a decade of front page charges and accusations affecting numerous individuals and organizations.

Entitled the "Subversive Activities Control Act, 1948," HR 5852 begins with a section of eleven paragraphs alleging that a "world communist movement," through political organizations and other methods, so threatens America as to make necessary legislative action against this "world-wide conspiracy." The bill states that these alleged facts "present a clear and present danger to the security of the United States." This phrase is important, for the Supreme Court has held that such revocation of the rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights as the proposed act would accomplish cannot be tolerated except when a "clear present danger" is proved.

EFFORT TO ANNUL BILL OF RIGHTS

Since the Supreme Court has repeatedly reaffirmed the right of free expression of opinion and of unimpeded political action regardless of its nature and intention, so long as it is not calculated to incite to violence, the bill attempts to circumvent these guarantees by identifying organizations covered by its provisions as being in the service and under the control of a foreign government or political organization.

The bill seeks to identify as such any organization having "some but not necessarily all" of the numerous specified and unspecified characteristics. Among these are "the expression of views and policies" which may be the same as those of such foreign government, supporting "the basic principles and tactics of communism as expounded by Marx and Lenin." The bill authorizes the Attorney General to exercise a judicial function in determining and certifying that organizations are "communist organizations" or "communist front organizations" and places groups so designated in the peculiar position of having to go to court to prove themselves innocent rather than following the Anglo-Saxon principle of placing the burden of proof upon the accuser.

Insofar as the alleged needs for protection of the security of the United States are real and can be supported by evidence in court, such protections already exist in law. The Voorhis Act requires registration of organizations representing foreign governments. The McCormack Act requires the registration of agents of foreign governments. And the Smith Act makes it a crime to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Prosecution under any of these acts would be within due process of law.

The Mundt-Nixon Bill seeks to modify the situation in two important respects: (1) It would make it a crime to belong to any organization which comes under the loose

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FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY SUNDAY

Materials for the observance of "Freedom and Democracy Sunday," July 4th, have been provided in quantities for free distribution to churches requesting them is the announcement of the Department of Social Welfare, 222 South Downey Avenue, Indianapolis 7, Indiana.

"Freedom and Democracy Sunday" was authorized two years ago by the committee on special days.

For the observance this year, W. Elbert Starn has prepared a leaflet of "Suggestions to the Pastor," containing appropriate scripture calls to worship, suggestions for suitable hymns, a list of scripture texts for sermons, and the pastoral prayer. A responsive service of selections from the great historic documents on human freedom to be read by the minister and appropriate scripture responses by the congregation is available. For youth groups, Sunday school classes and other church organizations an antiphonal service of short length has been provided. These materials can be had in quantities without cost by writing to the Department at the above address. More than 60,000 of the worship service leaflets have been ordered by churches as we go to press.

Through the courtesy of *Saturday Evening Post*, Norman Rockwell's beautiful poster, "Freedom of Worship" is also available in black and white, 17x25 inches, suitable for use in the service and for posting on the bulletin board. This is one of the historic "Four Freedoms" posters that were widely used during the war.

The purpose of initiation of "Freedom and Democracy Sunday" is to strengthen the forces of democracy and freedom in a time when liberty everywhere is endangered by suppression at home and dictatorial regimes abroad, and to remind Americans that human liberty is rooted in religious values.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

How to Stop Russia Without War, by Fritz Sternberg. John Day Co., 1948, \$2. Here is the book many have been waiting for. The title is amply justified, but the program of foreign policy proposed might just as appropriately have been entitled "How to Build Peace and Freedom in Europe and Asia." This is an indispensable book for all who are concerned about present trends toward war.

Peace or Anarchy, by Cord Meyer, Jr., Little, Brown and Co., 1947, \$2.50. This book offers the most constructive study of the strength and weaknesses of the United Nations yet to appear in print. The author points out precisely why the UN cannot save the peace and how we can move through the provisions of the Charter to a reformed UN that can. Good medicine for both those who are disillusioned about UN and those who regard it as sacrosanct.

The United Nations Challenge to the Church, by Hugh C. Stuntz. Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1947, \$1.75. Although a little out-dated (the contents were delivered as lectures in 1946), this is probably the clearest and most challenging statement of the responsibility of Christians to come to the aid of international organization.

WASHINGTON ROUND-UP

Robert A. Fangmeier

The Legislative Situation. A great deal of important legislation is likely to be lost in the shuffle as Congress prepares to adjourn June 21. Such measures as Federal Aid to Education, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill, the World Health Organization, controls over the use of grain for distilling, are still on the House Calendar awaiting action.

The Senate still has to consider the Civil Rights Program, the Anti-Poll Tax and Anti-Lynching bills, Permanent FEPC. Anti-Poll Tax and Permanent FEPC are not likely to pass this session, but the Anti-Lynching measure is on the number two "must" list of the Republican Steering Committee and has a slightly better chance. Federal Aid to Education (S. 866) providing \$300 million educational aid to the states has passed the Senate and is awaiting House action. Representative Halleck (R. Ind.) is said to be the person blocking it. Speaker Joseph Martin recently told a delegation of churchmen that he was reluctant to support the measure because of the huge national budget. However, the Army Air Force bill costing \$8,200,000,000 by 1952 slipped through with no apparent concern for the budget and with hardly a murmur of dissent.

UMT-Selective Service. Vote on a draft proposal is certain before adjournment. At present the House and Senate are working on different versions. The House bill is a straight war-time draft of men 19 to 25 for two years of military service. Men 18 to 31 would be required to register but immediate plans do not call for their induction. The Senate bill is a combination of UMT and selective service. It also has a straight draft provision for two years military service of men 19 to 25 and would require registration of all men 18 to 25. The 18 year-olds would serve one year.

The House bill gives the Secretary of Defense power to force "any individual, firm, association, company, corporation," etc., to accept orders, transform plants into munitions factories, and in other ways cooperate with the military, under penalty of a fine of \$50,000 and imprisonment of not more than three years. Nothing in the bill is designed to prohibit gambling, the sale of liquor or houses of prostitution in or near camps. Ministers of religion, theological students, and those "pre-enrolled" while preparing to enter theological school are exempt from service. Conscientious objectors who believe in a "Supreme Being" may claim exemption from combatant service, or may be deferred from all service.

The Senate bill provides that after an 18 year-old has served one year he will be required to spend six years in the unorganized Reserves. The defense chiefs may direct him to enroll for four years in the officer's training program of the Reserves. Failure to comply is punishable by an additional year of service in the Army.

Segregation and the Draft. Senator Richard B. Russell (D. Ga.) has introduced a resolution to require that every man inducted into the Army be given an opportunity to request in writing service with men of his own race. On the other side, the Committee Against Jim Crow in the Army, led by A. Phillip Randolph, has threatened a civil disobedience campaign if segregation is not specifically banned in the draft law. This promises to be one of the most hotly contested issues in the legislative battle for UMT and selective service.

Japanese Americans. Representative Walter Judd has introduced HR 5004 to grant citizenship to Japanese Americans born in Japan. Most of these people have been in the United States many years and their children born in this country are already citizens. A bill to reimburse Japanese Americans for losses resulting from evacuation from the

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ON SOCIAL FRONTIERS

STRETCHING THE DOLLAR. The American people can be expected to spend a little more than \$116 billion for consumer goods and services in 1950 against a need of \$129.3 billion to bring our lowest income groups up to a decent standard of living without penalizing those now living above the minimum level, says *America's Needs and Resources*, published by the Twentieth Century Fund. By 1960 the expected expenditures for goods and services will reach \$134 billion, or \$10.2 billion short of the amount needed to provide a decent standard. Food, the largest item in the consumer budget, will fall short \$5.5 billion in 1950. A shortage of \$2.2 billion will be felt in medical care; \$800 million will be the shortage in clothing, while adequate housing would require \$3 billion for construction and an additional billion for equipment and operation. Estimated deficiencies in needs for private education, religion, and private welfare are expected to amount to \$633 million.

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WHO SAID "YOU CAN'T DO BUSINESS WITH HITLER?" In June 1941 Little, Brown and Company published a book carrying the above title, written by Douglas Miller, which ran through nine printings in less than six months and through two printings of Pocket Books in January 1942. Now the Twentieth Century Fund ("Cartels in Action") reports that some of the biggest American business firms not only could do business with Hitler but were actually doing so with considerable profit to themselves. The I. G. Farben Industrie, the huge Nazi cartel, had its finger in almost every industrial pie in the world after World War I. It had agreements with important chemical and dyes companies in England, Italy, Czechoslovakia, France and Japan, and with such American corporations as General Aniline (dyes), Agfa Ansco (films), Sterling and Winthrop (drugs), Standard Oil (petroleum and chemicals), Rhom & Haas (acrylate plastics), Unyte Corporation (urea formaldehyde plastics), Hercules Powder (cellulose plastics and chlorinated rubber), Dow (chemicals), the Aluminum Company of America (magnesium), American Cyanamid (cyanides), Ethyl Corporation (tetraethyl lead), and with Pennsylvania Salt, Stauffer Chemical, and Koppers in particular fields. Without exception, says the report, IG's cartel compacts with American firms restricted American exports and reserved to IG important sectors of the world market. (Source: Twentieth Century Fund News Letter) Now we can begin to understand why certain members of Congress were so anxious that ERP not be allowed to aid nationalization of European industries.

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WORLD CONFERENCE ON UN. A "World Conference for Moral and Spiritual Support of the United Nations," sponsored by the Church Peace Union, has been announced to convene in Town Hall, New York City, June 16-18. The purpose of the Conference will be "to study and discuss the grave problems that confront us, asking how the forces of religion may help by bringing the full power of their faith and moral influence behind the United Nations and its efforts to build an orderly world society." Delegates from the Roman Catholic, Protestant and Eastern Orthodox branches of Christianity have been invited, as well as from Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Confucianism and Taoism. Five commissions, on The United Nations and Its Task, The Moral and Religious Resources of Mankind, Religion and Human Rights, and A Practical Program of Action, will be set up.

President Roy Snodgrass of the International Convention of Disciples of Christ, has named Dr. Roger T. Nooe, Nashville, Tennessee, chairman of the Commission on World Order, and Dr. William A. Shullenberger, pastor of

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MINORITY OF HOUSE COMMITTEE EXCORIATES MILITARY BILL

"The compulsory peacetime draft will wreck the institutions upon which America is founded," is the conclusion reached by a minority of the House Committee on Armed Services in a report opposing the report of the majority on HR 6401, entitled "The Selective Service Act of 1948."

"This bill, authorizing an increase of 600,000 (almost 50 percent) in the strength of the armed services, provides for compulsory military service for 2 years for men between the ages of 19 and 26. At the termination of this two years' service, all able-bodied men are transferred to Reserve components of the armed forces until the age of 35. And so we have the essentials of the European system of military preparedness; two years of military active duty followed by service in the active Reserve."

The official estimated cost of this program for the ensuing fiscal year of 1949, according to this minority report, will be \$6,049,000,000, which in addition to other appropriations for armed services will run the cost of the total program to more than \$21,000,000,000.

WOULD INCREASE DANGER OF WAR

The minority members of the House Committee on Armed Services give two basic reasons for their opposition to this bill. The first is that this is a program for war and will be so understood by all the nations of the world. "This program gives support to the charge that the United States has rejected the notion of world cooperation in favor of the long outmoded fallacy that military preparedness, advisable as it may be, can guarantee peace. . . . Our own country is promoting distrust and unrest in the world when we announce our intention to spend over 20 billions of dollars in 1949 for military preparedness."

Nor will this program reduce the present international crises. "Economic and political change, accelerated by the effects of two devastating wars," this minority avers, "has produced the current discontent in Europe." This program will not only not meet the real causes of this unrest but rather will "add fuel to the present world discontent" by diverting the resources of both America and of Europe from "genuine recovery channels into new war preparation."

WOULD MILITARIZE AMERICA

"Once a system of peacetime conscription has been fastened on the country, the military authorities will exercise ever-growing influence," the congressmen affirm. They analyze in five important ways the manner in which this will happen:

1. The "productive processes of the economy" will fall largely under military control. The bill empowers the President to require manufacturers to produce needed war materials; "the goods of war will always carry an overriding priority"; and many will come to have "an almost complete dependence upon military expenditures."

2. The bill would "create a Nation-wide bureaucracy, financed from public funds, which through its influence" could accomplish "the complete submergence of American political and economic democracy."

3. The bill "can only have the most detrimental effects upon our educational system" by indoctrinating our youth "not to make independent decisions but to obey and to let others do their thinking for them."

4. The billions of dollars to be expended in this program will be "the deciding factor in the return to a controlled economy."

5. By diverting the wealth of America to military use the standard of living will inevitably be lowered. The Army will have priority on and use of vast quantities of steel, copper, lumber, nails, gasoline and all other materials, with the result of "undermining the standard of living of all of the people and leading to the necessity of a permanently controlled economy."

"A SENSIBLE ALTERNATIVE"

The minority report, alleging that "the considerable degree of hysteria prevalent is in large measure due to the propaganda efforts of the armed services themselves," denies the premises of the proponents that "the United States is helpless and unprepared. . . . We have the greatest Navy in the peacetime history of the world; we have a splendid Air Force; we have the leading position in the field of ultramodern weapons of destruction; . . . our industrial position is incomparably superior to any possible combination of rivals."

As to the Army, "The committee records show that the Army has deliberately refrained from making all-out efforts to utilize voluntary recruitment methods." It has shown no interest in building up the Reserve establishments, in preparation for this demand for conscription. If the Army had honestly used the facilities at hand for building a voluntary establishment, no need would now exist for such a measure as is being proposed. "The men needed to complete our Ground Forces can be secured, just as those of the Navy and Air Force are being kept at peak requirements, through voluntary enlistments."

As a summary, the report declares, "The Army has acted as if it is the policy-making body of the Nation. In effect, it has said that Congress must accept a conscription program before the Army will organize, train, and equip the Reserves. Congress cannot permit itself to become the rubber stamp of a willful group of officers who want to Prussianize this Nation, and who are prepared to sabotage our defenses in the process."

Those signing the report are Dewey Short, ranking Republican member of the Committee, C. W. Bishop, J. J. Heffernan, P. J. Philbin, and F. R. Havenner.

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description of the bill, whether or not one was aware of its being illegal and even if such membership was in the past before it was declared illegal under the terms of the bill. Thus one might belong to some organization today, supporting only in part its activities, and next year the organization be declared to be a "communist front," whereupon the person would be judged guilty by such association. Any organization can be certified as a "communist political organization" or a "communist front" if the Attorney General decides that "it is reasonable to conclude" that such is the case. No trial is required. The Attorney General simply makes an investigation and gives his ruling.

THE REAL EFFECT OF THE BILL

The real purpose of the bill thus becomes obvious. This purpose is three-fold: (1) to make it unnecessary to prove that the accused organization or person actually believes in, advocates, or practices the use of force or violence to overthrow the government; (2) to make freedom of speech and association in certain cases criminal; (3) to avoid the necessity of establishing guilt by recognized legal processes by delegating to the Attorney General authority by which he would become accuser, examiner, judge and executioner. While the bill provides for review by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, the court is bound by the previous findings of the Attorney General.

In brief, due process of law would be effectively denied under the bill, with special reference to freedom of speech, of association, of political belief, and of political action.

President Truman, Senator Taft, and Governor Dewey are among those who have expressed opposition to such a law.

The bill has been passed by the House despite the almost unanimous opposition of liberal forces throughout the country. President Truman has indicated that he will veto the bill if the Senate passes it, but this veto can be overridden. Opposition should be concentrated on the Senate at once.

POSITIVE PEACE.....Cont. from Page 1, Col. 1

manner of the past two years" is likely to lead to war. This trend, however, can be dealt with by counter-measures of peace. Soviet policies will be aggressively pushed to the danger point, apparently, only where (a) national economies are weak; (b) where workers can be persuaded to accept dictatorship as their best hope of increased welfare; and (c) where men can be terrorized.

The main defenses of what we treasure are to be found in non-military measures which will change the conditions favorable to the spread of despotism. It is not the task of military advisers to provide these defenses and the American people should not permit policy-making to pass predominantly into the hands of those who think primarily in military terms, as seems to be the case at present.

One of the conditions which tempt Soviet leaders to aggressive action is the prevalence of economic distress. Another condition which contributes to Soviet aggressive action is the possibility of making men believe that the Communist parties are today the only ardent advocates of increased social welfare. Whereas Western democracies were once supreme because of their dynamic pursuit of liberty, equality and fraternity, today, because Soviet communism attacks freedom, they are drawn into a defense of the *status quo*. Instead, democracies ought to preach and practice "the unique capacity of a free society to effect changes peacefully." In this the Federal Council agrees with Fritz Sternberg ("How to Stop Russia Without War") who believes that the democracies, to win the present struggle, must show that they can give the one and one-half billion human beings now on the march in search of a better life, more economic security than the Soviets can provide.

It is significant to note that only a few days after the visit of the committee to the White House, both the President and Secretary Marshall bluntly snubbed the Kremlin's proposal for a meeting to discuss differences, to the dismay of millions of people around the world who hailed the Russian approach with enthusiasm as offering hope for the settlement of differences.

SOCIAL FRONTIERS.....Cont. from Page 3, Col. 1

Central Christian Church, Indianapolis, Indiana, as delegates, with James A. Crain and Walter W. Sikes as alternates.

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COMMUNIQUE FROM MISSISSIPPI. Governor Fielding L. Wright recently advised Negroes of his state: "If any of you have become so deluded as to want to enter our white schools, patronize our hotels, enjoy social equality with whites (I) advise you to make your home in some state other than Mississippi." (Time, 5/17/48)

WASH. ROUND-UP.....Cont. from Page 2, Col. 2

West Coast at the outbreak of the war has passed the House and hearings on it have been scheduled by the Senate.

Pacifists. The Dolliver Bill to bar pacifists from becoming citizens is now on the Unanimous Consent Calendar of the House and will pass following the next reading unless three members object. It would void the Supreme Court's Gireau decision which ruled that they might be admitted.